

# Slavic dialects of Greece

The **Slavic dialects of Greece** are the Eastern South Slavic dialects of Macedonian and Bulgarian spoken by minority groups in the regions of Macedonia and Thrace in northern Greece. Usually, these dialects are classified as Bulgarian in Thrace, while the dialects in Macedonia are classified as Macedonian, with the exception of some eastern dialects which can also be classified as Bulgarian. Until the official codification of the Macedonian language in 1945 many linguists considered all these to be Bulgarian dialects.<sup>[2][3][4][5]</sup> However, some linguists opposed this view and considered Macedonian dialects as comprising an independent language distinct from both Bulgarian and Serbian.<sup>[6][7][8][9]</sup>



Traditional non-Greek languages zones in Greece. Note: Greek is the dominant language throughout Greece; inclusion in a non-Greek language zone does not necessarily imply that the relevant minority language is still spoken there.<sup>[1]</sup>

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## Slavic dialects spoken in the region of Greek Macedonia

The continuum of Macedonian and Bulgarian is spoken today in the prefectures of Florina and Pella, and to a lesser extent in Kastoria, Imathia, Kilkis, Thessaloniki, Serres and Drama.<sup>[10]</sup>

According to Riki van Boeschoten, the Slavic dialects of Greek Macedonia are divided into three main dialects (Eastern, Central and Western), of which the Eastern dialect is used in the areas of Serres and Drama, and is closest to Bulgarian, the Western dialect is used in Florina and Kastoria, and is closest to Macedonian, the Central dialect is used in the area between Edessa and Salonica and is an intermediate between Macedonian and Bulgarian.<sup>[11][12]</sup> Trudgill classifies certain peripheral dialects in the far east of Greek Macedonia as part of the Bulgarian language area and the rest as Macedonian dialects.<sup>[13]</sup> Victor Friedman considers those Macedonian dialects, particularly those spoken as west as Kilkis, to be transitional to the neighbouring South Slavic language.<sup>[14]</sup>

Macedonian dialectologists Božidar Vidoeški and Blaže Koneski consider the eastern Macedonian dialects to be transitional to Bulgarian, including the Maleševo-Pirin dialect.<sup>[15][16]</sup>

Bulgarian dialectologists claim all dialects and do not recognize the Macedonian. They divide Bulgarian dialects mainly into Eastern and Western by a separating isogloss (*dyado, byal/dedo, bel* "grandpa, white"(m., sg.)) stretching from Salonica to the meeting point of Iskar and Danube, except for the isolated phenomena of the Korcha dialect as an of Eastern Bulgarian Rup dialects in the western fringes.<sup>[17]</sup>

The nasal vowels are absent in all Slavic dialects except for the dialects of Macedonian in Greece and the Lechitic dialects (Polabian, Slovincian, Polish and Kashubian).<sup>[18]</sup> This, along with the preservation of the paroxytonic in the Kostur dialect and Polish, is part of a series of isoglosses shared with the Lechitic dialects, which led to the thesis of a genetic relationship between Proto-Bulgarian and Proto-Macedonian with Proto-Polish and Proto-Kashubian.<sup>[19]</sup>

The Old Church Slavonic language, the earliest recorded Slavic language, was based on the Salonica dialects.<sup>[20]</sup> Church Slavonic, long-used as a state language further north in East and West Slavic states and as the only one in Wallachia and Moldavia until the 18th century,<sup>[21]</sup> influenced other Slavic languages on all levels, including morphology and vocabulary.<sup>[22]</sup> 70% of Church Slavonic words are common to all Slavic languages,<sup>[23]</sup> the influence of Church Slavonic is especially pronounced in Russian, which today consists of mixed native and Church Slavonic vocabulary.

## Fringe views

A series of ethnological and pseudo-linguistic works were published by three Greek teachers, notably Boukouvalas and Tsoulkas, whose publications demonstrate common ideological and methodological similarities. They published etymological lists tracing every single Slavic word to Ancient Greek with fictional correlations, and they were ignorant of the dialects and the Slavic languages entirely.<sup>[24]</sup> Among them, Boukouvalas promoted an enormous influence of the Greek language on a Bulgarian idiom and a discussion about their probable Greek descent.<sup>[24]</sup> Tsoulkas followed him by publishing a large book, where he "proved" through an "etymological" approach, that these idioms are a pure Ancient Greek dialect.<sup>[24]</sup> A publication of the third teacher followed, Giorgos Georgiades, who presented the language as a mixture of Greek, Turkish and other loanwords, but was incapable of defining the dialects as either Greek or Slav.<sup>[24]</sup>



Slavic toponyms in Greece according to the book *Slavs in Greece* by Max Vasmer.



Proclamation of Greek nationalists from 1926, per which the Bulgarian language is forbidden for the locals.

Serbian dialectology does not usually extend the Serbian dialects to Greek Macedonia, but an unconventional classification has been made by Aleksandar Belić, a convinced Serbian nationalist, who regarded the dialects as Serbian.<sup>[24]</sup> In his classification he distinguished three categories of dialects in Greek Macedonia: a Serbo-Macedonian dialect, a Bulgarian-Macedonian territory where Serbian is spoken and a Non-Slavic territory.

## Ban for use, language shift and language death

After the conclusion of the First World War a widespread policy of Hellenisation was implemented in the Greek region of Macedonia.<sup>[25][26][27]</sup> Personal and topographic names were forcibly changed to their Greek versions.<sup>[28]</sup> Cyrillic inscriptions across Northern Greece were removed from gravestones and churches.<sup>[28][29]</sup> Under the regime of Ioannis Metaxas a law was passed banning the Bulgarian language.<sup>[30][31]</sup> Many people who broke the rule were deported,<sup>[32]</sup> or arrested, and beaten.<sup>[26]</sup> During the Cold War cases of discrimination against people who spoke in local dialects had been reported. In 1959 the inhabitants of three villages adopted a 'language oath', renouncing their Slavic dialect on the initiative of local government officials.<sup>[33]</sup> After the fall of Communism the issue has continued. In 1994 report by the Human Rights Watch, Greece implemented a program, which refuses the teaching of any Slavic language. The Greek state continues to exclude the Slavic speakers of Greek Macedonia from operating TV-, or radio-stations in local Slavic, as well websites.<sup>[34]</sup> As result per Christian Voss in the Western and Central areas of Greek Macedonia is visible the typical situation of language shift and decreased proficiency from the Slavic vernacular to Greek as follows: "Households with almost monoglot Slavic-speaking grandparents, bilingual parents, and monoglot Greek-speaking children with a passive knowledge of Slavic." On the other hand in Eastern Macedonia are symptoms of full assimilation, which led to a language death.<sup>[35]</sup>



"Slavomacedonian voice" newspaper from March 25, 1944. The newspaper was published in a non-standardized Kostur dialect by the Slavomacedonian National Liberation Front during the WWII.

## Slavic dialects spoken in the region of Thrace

Some of the Rup dialects of the Bulgarian language are spoken by the Pomaks in Western Thrace in Greece. These dialects are native also in Bulgaria, and are classified as part of the Smolyan subdialect.<sup>[37]</sup> Not all Pomaks speak this dialect as their mother language.<sup>[38]</sup> It is generally qualified by Bulgarian researchers as an "archaic dialect" with some conservative features, which bear witness to an intermediate state of transition from Old Bulgarian/Old Church Slavonic to the modern Bulgarian language.<sup>[39]</sup>



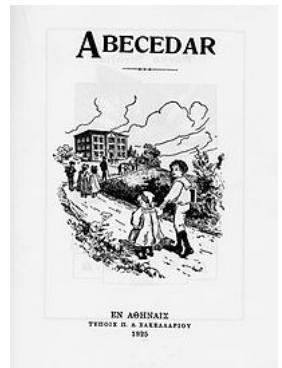
The yat (\*ě) split in the Eastern South Slavic. Jouko Lindstedt has assumed that this isogloss is the dividing line between Bulgarian and Macedonian.<sup>[36]</sup>

## Extinct Slavic dialects

## Attempts of codification

### Greek governmental codification

Under the 1920 Treaty of Sèvres, Greece must open schools for minority-language children. So in September 1924 Greece agreed to a protocol with Bulgaria to place its Slavic-speaking minority under the protection of the League of Nations as Bulgarians. However, the Greek parliament refused to ratify the protocol due to objections from Serbia, and from Greeks who considered the Slavic-speakers to be Slavicized Greeks rather than Slavic people.<sup>[40]</sup> Vasilis Dendramis, the Greek representative in the League of the Nations, stated that Macedonian Slav language was neither Bulgarian, nor Serbian, but an independent language. The Greek government went ahead with the publication in May 1925 of the Abecedar, described by contemporary Greek writers as a primer for "the children of Slav speakers in Greece ... printed in the Latin script and compiled in the Macedonian dialect."<sup>[41]</sup> The book's publication sparked controversy in Greek Macedonia, along with Bulgaria and Serbia. The Bulgarians and Serbs objected to the book being printed in Latin alphabet.<sup>[42]</sup> In January 1926, the region of Florina saw extensive protests by Greek and pro-Greek Slavic speakers campaigning against the primer's publication, demanding the government change its policies on minority education.<sup>[43]</sup> As result although some books reached villages in Greek Macedonia, it was never used in their schools.<sup>[40]</sup>



Front page of the original Abecedar, published in 1925

### Greek communists' codification

After the Tito-Stalin split in 1948, under the auspices of some Macedonian intellectuals in Bucharest, anti-Yugoslav, non-serbianised alphabet, grammar, and primer were created.<sup>[44]</sup> The Communist Party of Greece led by Nikos Zahariadis took the side of the Cominform. After the defeat of communists in the Greek Civil War in 1949, a hunt for Titoist spies began in the midst of Greek political immigrants - civil war refugees, living in socialist countries in Eastern Europe (often coming there after a brief stay in the so called "Tito's traitorous fascist Yugoslavia"). As result the Greek communist publisher "Nea Ellada" issued a Macedonian grammar (1952) and developed a different alphabet. Between 1952 and 1956, the Macedonian Department of Nea Hellas published a number of issues in this literary standard, officially called "Macedonian language of the Slavomacedonians from Greek or Aegean Macedonia". This failed attempt of codification included the Ѓ, Ѓ, Ј, Ј, Џ and was proclaimed as non-serbianised. However it was merely a form of the Bulgarian.<sup>[45]</sup> This codification did not gain widespread acceptance.<sup>[46]</sup> The Soviet-Yugoslav rapprochement from the mid. of the 1950s probably helped to put this codification to an end.<sup>[47]</sup> The grammar was prepared by a team headed by Atanas Peykov.<sup>[48]</sup> Atanas Peikov himself came to Romania from Bulgaria, where till 1951 he had worked at the Informbureau of Hellas Press. Although this "Aegean Macedonian language" legitimized the symbolic importance of the "Macedonian language" and thus facilitated the later spread of the standard Yugoslav Macedonian norm among the Aegean emigrants, it also delayed this process, creating certain reservations towards the Yugoslavian Macedonian standard. Educated in this norm Greek refugees were nearly unable to adopt later the Yugoslav version.<sup>[47]</sup>



Primer published by the Greek communist publisher "Nea Ellada" in Bucharest (1949).

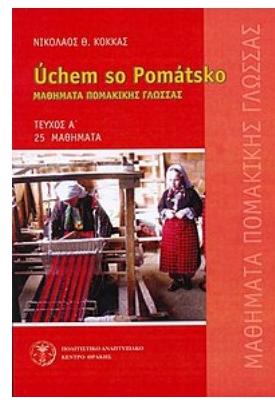
### Communist refugees from Greece in Australia

The Macedonian Greek Civil War Refugees in Australia issued a Makedonska Iskra (Macedonian Spark). It was the first Macedonian newspaper published in Australia, from 1946 to 1957. The Makedonska Iskra was also thrown into confusion by the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform.<sup>[49]</sup> The newspaper was printed in the Latin alphabet. Its articles were not in standard Macedonian but in local

Slavic dialects of Greece. Some of the Slavic texts were in mixed Bulgaro-Macedonian language or were written in Bulgarian language.<sup>[50]</sup> A monthly with national distribution, it commenced in Perth and later moved to Melbourne and Sydney.

## "Pomak language"

In Greece, all attempts to write in Pomak language in formal publications have been criticized because their script, whether it was in Greek or in Latin. Since the 1990s several publications in Pomak dialect have been issued, using the Greek script or using the Latin. Some criticisms to these publications were related to their funding sources. For example by the cases using the Greek script, two volumes of a textbooks were printed in 2004. Their author was Nikos Kokkas and publisher *Pakethra*. The funding here was provided by a Greek businessman and directly through his company. The preface of a Pomak primer presents it as one of the "lesser-spoken languages" of Europe.<sup>[51]</sup> The use of Pomak in writing is very restricted. It is even not used in the local Pomak newspaper "Zagalisa", that is published in Greek. Recently, the use of Pomak is preferred in a new local newspaper "Natpresh". Pomak is not being actively promoted neither by Pomak communities, nor by the Greek authorities. The result is a strong language shift in Greece towards Turkish.<sup>[39]</sup>



A textbooks in Pomak language printed in 2004 in Greece.

## Features

### Comparison of the Slavic dialects of Greek Macedonia with Standard Macedonian and Bulgarian

Proto-Slavic	Old Church Slavonic	Standard Macedonian	Lower Prespa dialect	Lerin dialect	Kostur dialect	Nestram-Kostenar dialect	Solun-Kukus-Voden dialect	Lagadin-Ser-Drama dialect	Pomak dialect of Greece	E
tj	št/щ (ʃt)	kj/k (c) лека/lekja	št/щ (ʃt) леща/lešta	št/щ or šč/шч (ʃt/ʃtʃ) леща/lešta	šč/шч (ʃtʃ) леща/lešča	šč/шч (ʃtʃ) леща/lešča	št/щ (ʃt) леща/lešta	št/щ (ʃt) леща/lešta	št/щ (ʃt) леща/lešta	št/щ леща
dj	žd/жд (ʒd)	gj/f (f) меѓу/megju	žd/жд (ʒd) меѓу/meždu	žd/жд (ʒd) меѓу/meždu	ž/ж (z) меџу/mežu	žd/жд (ʒd) меџду/meždu	žd/жд (ʒd) меџду/meždu	žd/жд (ʒd) меџду/meždu	žd/жд (ʒd) меџду/meždu	žd/жд меџду
gd/kt	št/щ (ʃt)	kj/k (c) ноќ/nokj	š(t)/ш(ш)(ʃ/ ʃt) нош/noš	(j)kj/(j)k (c) но(j)k/no(j)kj	š(c)/ш(ч) (ʃ/ ʃtʃ) and gj/f (f) нош/noš	š(ч)/ш(ч) (ʃ/ ʃtʃ) and jk/jk (k) нош/noš	(j)ki/(j)k (c) но(j)ki/no(j)kj or но(j)f/no(j)gf	št/щ (ʃt) нош/noš	š/ш(ʃ) нош/noš	št/щ нош/noš
Yat	ћ, ћ (ja)	е (ε) бел/бели	е (ε) бел/бели	е (ε) бел/бели	е (ε) бел/бели	е (ε) бел/бели	е (ε) бел/бели баш/басли (Solun)	ја/e (j)a/ε) баш/басли sometimes ja/ а (j)a/æ) бая/басли (Drama region)	а (ә) баш/басли	ја/е бая/басли
Yus	ъ, ъ (ъ) and А, А (ъ)	а (а) маж/маž, заб/zab	а (а) маж/маž, заб/zab	a (a) sometimes ъ (ә) (Southern region) маж/маž, заб/zab/ зъб/зѣб мъж/тѣз	ǎп/ън (ən), ôн/ ôн, ôм/ ôм (on/m) before voiced stops мъж/мăž, зъмб/zămb мôж/môž, зомб/zomb	ǎм/ъм (əm), em/ем (em), ôн/ ôн, ôм/ ôм (on/m) мъж/мăž, зъмб/zămb мôж/môž, зомб/zomb	ǎ/ъ (ә) sometimes ън (ən) (Solun region) мънж/мăнž, зънб/zănb	ǎп/ън (ə) мънж/мăнž, зънб/zănb	о (ɔ) мож/mož, зоб/zob	ǎ/ъ мъ: зъ
Yer	ъ (ә)	о (ɔ) волк/volk	о (ɔ) волк/volk	ъ (ә), ъл (əl) вък/věk / (Southeastern region) вълк/vǎlk	ъ (ә) вълк/vělk	ő (ö) / â (â) вôлк/vôlk вâлк/vâlk	о (ɔ), ъ (ә) (Solun region) волк/volk вълк/vǎlk	ă/ъ (ә) вълк/vâlk	о (ɔ) волк/volk	ă/ъ въ

## See also

- Slavs in Greece
- Slavic-speakers of Greek Macedonia
- Eastern South Slavic
- Pomak language
- Fallmerayer's Greek theory

## References

1. See Ethnologue ([1] ([http://www.ethnologue.com/show\\_map.asp?name=MK&seq=10](http://www.ethnologue.com/show_map.asp?name=MK&seq=10))); Euromosaic, *Le (slavo)macédonien / bulgare en Grèce, L'arvanite / albanaise en Grèce, Le valaque/aromoune-aroumane en Grèce*, and Mercator-Education: European Network for Regional or Minority Languages and Education, *The Turkish language in education in Greece*. cf. also P. Trudgill, "Greece and European Turkey: From Religious to Linguistic Identity", in S Barbour, C Carmichael (eds.), *Language and nationalism in Europe*, Oxford University Press 2000.
2. Mladenov, Stefan. *Geschichte der bulgarischen Sprache*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1929, § 207-209.
3. Mazon, Andre. *Contes Slaves de la Macédoine Sud-Occidentale: Etude linguistique; textes et traduction; Notes de Folklore*, Paris 1923, p. 4.

4. Селищев, Афанасий. Избранные труды, Москва 1968, с. 580-582.
5. Die Slaven in Griechenland von Max Vasmer. Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin 1941. Kap. VI: Allgemeines und sprachliche Stellung der Slaven Griechenlands, p.324.
6. Antoine Meillet (French, linguist, 1928): *Their dialects, differing among themselves, are not truly Serbian nor truly Bulgarian, especially if one is thinking of written Bulgarian, which is based on dialects quite far removed from the Macedonian dialects. In reality these dialects do not properly belong to either the one or the other of the two groups under dispute.*
7. Todor Dimitrovski, Blaže Koneski, Trajko Stamatoski. About the Macedonian language; "Krske Misirkov" Institute of the Macedonian Language, 1978; p.31.
8. Kulturen Život. Macedonian Review, Volume 10; Kulturen Zhivot, 1980; p.105
9. Vaillant, André (1938), "Le Problème du slave macédonien, Bulletin de la Société linguistique, 39, 2(# 116): 194–210, cited in Fishman, J. A. (ed) (1993), *The Earliest Stage of Language Planning*, New York, p. 164.
10. Małecki, M. (1938), *Z zagadnień dialektołogii macedońskiej*, Rocznik slawistyczny, 14: 119–144, cited in Fishman, J. A. (ed) (1993), *The Earliest Stage of Language Planning*, New York, p. 164.
11. "Несмотря на значительное диаметральное разнообразие, македонские говоры представляют собою единство и заметно отличаются от народных говоров Фракии, Родоп, Мизии и Балкан" [Despite their considerable diametrical diversity, Macedonian dialects represent a [linguistic] whole and differ markedly from the folk dialects of Thrace, the Rhodopes, Moesia and the Balkans]. Berstein, S. (1938), *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, no. 36, p. 743, cited in Bernstein (1944), Несколько замечаний о македонском литературном языке [Some remarks on the Macedonian literary language].
12. "The European Union and Lesser-Used Languages" ([http://www.eur-opsarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/document\\_travail/educ/2002/0108/04A-EDUC\\_DT\(2002\)0108\\_EN.doc](http://www.eur-opsarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/document_travail/educ/2002/0108/04A-EDUC_DT(2002)0108_EN.doc)). European Parliament. 2002: 77. "Macedonian and Bulgarian are the two standard languages of the eastern group of south Slavonic languages. In Greek Macedonia several dialectal varieties, very close to both standard Macedonian and Bulgarian, are spoken ... The two words (Macedonian and Bulgarian) are used here primarily because they are the names the speakers use to refer to the way they speak. In fact, many speak of 'our language' (nasi) or 'the local language' (ta dopia): the use of actual names is a politically charged national issue ... Yet (Slavo)Macedonian/ Bulgarian is still spoken by considerable numbers in Greek Macedonia, all along its northern borders, specially in the Prefectures of Florina, Pella, and to a lesser extent in Kastoria, Kilkis, Imathia, Thessalonika, Serres and Drama."
13. Boeschoten, Riki van (1993): Minority Languages in Northern Greece. Study Visit to Florina, Aridea, (Report to the European Commission, Brussels) "The Western dialect is used in Florina and Kastoria and is closest to the language used north of the border, the Eastern dialect is used in the areas of Serres and Drama and is closest to Bulgarian, the Central dialect is used in the area between Edessa and Salonica and forms an intermediate dialect"
14. Ioannidou, Alexandra (1999). *Questions on the Slavic Dialects of Greek Macedonia* (<https://www.academia.edu/784444>). Ars Philologica: Festschrift für Baldur Panzer zum 65. Geburstag. Karsten Grünberg, Wilfried Potthoff. Athens: Peterlang. pp. 59, 63. ISBN 9783631350652. "In September 1993 ... the European Commission financed and published an interesting report by Riki van Boeschoten on the "Minority Languages in Northern Greece", in which the existence of a "Macedonian language" in Greece is mentioned. The description of this language is simplistic and by no means reflective of any kind of linguistic reality; instead it reflects the wish to divide up the dialects comprehensibly into geographical (i.e. political) areas. According to this report, Greek Slavophones speak the "Macedonian" language, which belongs to the "Bulgaro-Macedonian" group and is divided into three main dialects (Western, Central and Eastern) - a theory which lacks a factual basis."
15. Trudgill P., 2000, "Greece and European Turkey: From Religious to Linguistic Identity". In: Stephen Barbour and Cathie Carmichael (eds.), *Language and Nationalism in Europe*, Oxford : Oxford University Press, p.259.
16. Heine, Bernd; Kuteva, Tania (2005). *Language Contact and Grammatical Change* (<https://books.google.bg/books?id=npOCs6LP4RgC&pg=PA118#v=onepage&q&f=false>). Cambridge University Press. p. 118. ISBN 9780521608282. "in the modern northern and eastern Macedonian dialects that are transitional to Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian, e.g. in Kumanovo and Kukus/Kilkis, object reduplication occurs with less consistency than in the west-central dialects"
17. Fodor, István; Hagège, Claude (309). *Language reform : history and future*. Buske. ISBN 9783871189142. "The northern dialects are transitional to Serbo-Croatian, whereas the eastern (especially Malesevo) are transitional to Bulgarian. (For further details see Vidoeški 1960–1961, 1962–1963, and Koneski 1983)."
18. Vidoeški, Božo (2005). *Dialects of Macedonian* (<https://books.google.com/?id=twR-AAAAIAAJ&dq=transitional+dialects>). Slavica. p. 33. ISBN 9780893573157. "the northern border zone and the extreme southeast towards Bulgarian linguistic territory. It was here that the formation of transitional dialect belts between Macedonian and Bulgarian in the east, and Macedonian and Serbian in the north began."
19. "Карта на диалектната делитба на българския език" ([http://ibl.bas.bg/bulgarian\\_dialects/](http://ibl.bas.bg/bulgarian_dialects/)). Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.
20. Bethin, Christina Y.; Bethin, Christina y (1998). *Slavic Prosody: Language Change and Phonological Theory*. 84-87: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 9780521591485.[2] ([https://books.google.bg/books?id=xN\\_8himuvQYC&pg=PA84](https://books.google.bg/books?id=xN_8himuvQYC&pg=PA84)) [[https://books.google.bg/books?id=xN\\_8himuvQYC&pg=PA87](https://books.google.bg/books?id=xN_8himuvQYC&pg=PA87))
21. Hanna Popowska-Taborska. *Wczesne Dzieje Słowianich języka*. Instytut Slawistyki Polskiej Akademii Nauk. Warszawa 2014, p. 99-100 ([http://www.ireslaw.ianpan.waw.pl/bitstream/handle/123456789/33/H\\_Popowska-Taborska\\_-Wczesne\\_dzieje\\_S%C5%82owian.pdf?sequence=4&isAllowed=y](http://www.ireslaw.ianpan.waw.pl/bitstream/handle/123456789/33/H_Popowska-Taborska_-Wczesne_dzieje_S%C5%82owian.pdf?sequence=4&isAllowed=y)) "Chodzi o wnioskowanie na podstawie różnych zbieżności językowych o domniemany usytuowaniu przodków współczesnych reprezentantów języków słowiańskich w ich słowiańskiej praojczyźnie. Trzy najbardziej popularne w tym względzie koncepcje dotyczą: 1. domniemanych związków genetycznych Słowian północnych (nadbałtyckich) z północnym krańcem Słowiańskiego wschodniejszym, 2. domniemanych związków genetycznych Protopolaków (Protokaszubów) z Protobułgarami i Protomacedończykami oraz ... Również żywą jest po dziś dzień wysunięta w 1940 r. przez Conev [Conev 1940] teza o domniemanych genetycznych związkach polsko-bułgarskich, za którymi świadczyć mają charakterystycząca oba języki szeroka wymowa kontynuantów ē, nagłosowe o- poprzedzone protezą, zachowanie samogłosek nosowych w języku polskim i ślady tych samogłosek w języku bułgarskim, akcent paroksytoniczny cechujący język polski i dialekty kosturskie. Za dawnymi związkami lechicko-bułgarsko-macedońskimi opowiada się też Bernsztejn [Bernsztejn 1961, 1965], który formułuje tezę, że przodkowie Bułgarów i Macedończyków żyły w przeszłości na północnym obszarze prasłowiańskim w bliskich związkach z przodkami Pomorzan i Polaków. Do wymienionych wyżej zbieżności fonetycznych dołącza Bernsztejn zbieżności leksykalne bułgarsko-kaszubskie; podobnie czynią Kurkina [Kurkina 1979] oraz Schuster-Śewc [Schuster-Śewc 1988], którzy – opowiadając się za tezą Conewa i Bernsztejna – powołują się na mój artykuł o leksykalnych nawiązaniach kaszubsko-północnowłosowiańskich [Popowska-Taborska 1975a]"
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## External links

- Dialectical dictionary of the Oshima speech of the Lerin dialect ([http://www.oshchima.com/DBOOK/dictionary\\_-text.pdf](http://www.oshchima.com/DBOOK/dictionary_-text.pdf))

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